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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

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prized by the islanders as the only specimen of the scull-oar used by their ancestors." Bishop Museum has three blades, of which one, half rotten, is very old and a good specimen (B3631). (See fig. 19.)

The front part of one paddle blade has a very light depression in the middle which is more accentuated, almost a groove, in the modern pieces. The upward projection to which the handle was lashed, has been hollowed out so that the butt of the stick lies between two raised borders and is fixed against a raised shoulder. At the lower end of the longitudinal depression, on either side, are two large holes through which the lashing was passed. On the back the upward projection has a flange, almost a knob, near the poll to prevent the tie from sliding out. The blade itself has a high median flange (93 mm. high in one specimen and 72 mm. in the others). This crest terminates in a round and flattened knob somewhat compressed in front. This knob (*ponga kekepu*), probably intended to give a pendulum swing to the paddle, rejoins in a continuous curved line the surface of the front side. The terminal knob has a piece of bone or tooth incrusted in the wood. Hooks were sometimes incised on the flanges. The handle lashed to the blade was a long piece of wood with a flange at the distal end.

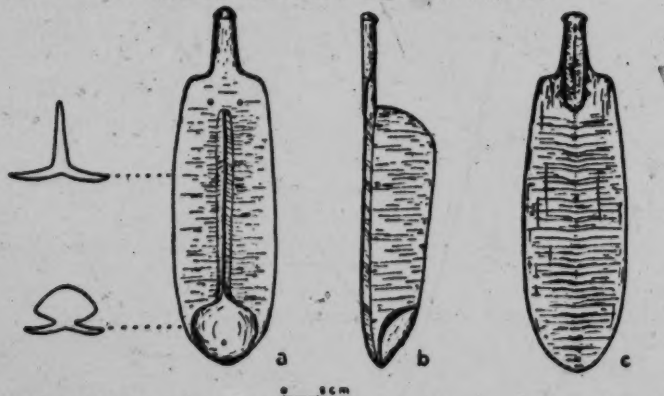

FIGURE 19.—Canoe paddle (*mata-kao*, B3631), blade 552 mm. long, and 133 mm. wide, handle fastened against upward projection 106 mm. long and 52 mm. wide; blade rounded and slightly curved backward: *a*, front with raised flange; *b*, lateral showing knob; *c*, back of paddle.

Hornell (109, p. 100) is misled by Thomson in regarding dance paddles (*ao*) as representative of the ancient type of paddle used on Easter Island and the actual paddles as scull oars. Dance paddles had nothing to do with navigation and are not derived from any known implement. The composite paddle with high median flange is very accurately reproduced in Lavis de Dubois de Vancy's original drawing (see also 83, vol. 1, p. 558). This and the unanimous testimony of the natives prove that these paddles were actually used.

The Easter Island composite paddle is unique, yet it has in common with the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles a stout knob at the distal end. This

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design (fig. 43). Of the two skulls I collected, one bears the figure of a dance paddle (*ao*), the other that of a bird very like the one engraved on the skull reproduced by Routledge. In 1912, Knoche (123, pp. 214-215, fig. 73, *f*) obtained three magic skulls which were similarly marked. The designs are described as follows:

> The three designs are on the foreheads of the skulls and have probably been incised with a sharp piece of obsidian. One of the figures shows a simple system of lines. It is placed exactly above the supra-orbital of the right side and ends on the left side. There are three pairs of lines, and one of them is perpendicular to the others. The pairs are combined in a curious way so that they produce two rectangular triangles. The second design has the form of circles. The lower periphery is almost parallel with the glabella. The third figure is the best incised and is on the oldest of the three specimens. On the left side of the frontal bone there are four isosceles triangles with parallel sides which cross each other on the summits. The right side of the fourth triangle is lacking. The summit is on the glabella. The base of the triangle is slanting to the left socket.

Present-day natives still believe in the power of the skulls and are reluctant to part with them. They say that the skulls of the *ariki-paka* (noblemen) were stolen from the ahus. Relatives of the dead whose skulls had been stolen felt the insult deeply and sometimes resorted to war to avenge such injuries. This information is invalidated by the tradition concerning the skull obtained by Routledge (194, p. 240). It was the skull of Hotu who made it an heirloom because "it was extremely good for chickens" and he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it to a relative whose son was an old man, and from him Routledge bought it. The incised skull which was sold to me by Tepano had been presented to him by the uncle of his wife.

This belief in the fertilizing power of *ariki* skulls is paralleled in other parts of Polynesia. In the Marquesas the skulls of chiefs were preserved separately and were brought out for certain public activities. Such skulls were taken on fishing expeditions to ensure a good catch and to protect the fishermen from sharks (104, p. 166). Maoris used to place the skull or bones of their ancestors in the sweet potato fields to procure a good harvest (20, vol. 1, p. 387).

DANCE ACCESSORIES

Dance Paddles

The two types of dance paddles were the *ao* which was large and the *rapa*, which was small. These paddles were held at the middle of the shaft by the dancer or chanter and were twirled very rapidly in the rhythm of the chant. The catalog of the Museum of the University of California contains an interesting statement about one of these paddles (1159): "It was used by chiefs in their war dances before the king. They were twirled and shaken in close proximity to his face as tho' to frighten him."

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The blades of the *ao* paddle are straight-sided with rounded ends. One blade has a pointed tip with a shoulder at about mid-length. The other blade has a conventionalized human face carved on both sides (fig. 44, *a*). On a specimen collected by Thomson (215, pl. 52) and on another illustrated by Routledge (194, fig. 118) the hair or frontal tattooing is indicated by vertical bands ending in an arched curve, below which two other curves unite in a long vertical band representing brows. The mouth is lacking, but the eyes are carefully carved. The ears are indicated by a rudimentary spiral with rounded knobs for lobes. The ancient *ao* were painted, as are the modern ones sold as curios. On the *ao* illustrated by Thomson (215, pl. 53) one face is painted with alternating bands of black and white, suggesting facial painting. The colors are reversed on the other side.

FIGURE 44.—Dance paddles: *a*, *ao*, length 216.5 cm., maximum width 22.6 cm. (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22845); *b*, *rapa*, 75 cm. long (Ratton coll., Paris).

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The blades of the *rapa* are obovate and one of them has a pointed tip. Two *rapa* paddles in Bishop Museum have rounded edges and a pointed tip which has been carved to form a kind of lobe on either side; on older specimens the tip is rounded with a slight annular swelling at mid-length; the tip becomes thicker and conical above the swelling (fig. 44, *b*). On all *rapa* paddles I have seen, the face is barely suggested on both sides of one blade. Two raised curves representing eyebrows meet in the center of the blade to form a vertical band representing the nose. On the more elaborate paddles this band extends down to the shaft. The ears are indicated by knobs—the ear plug. In a modern *rapa* made by Tepano the eyes are carved as they are on the *ao* paddle. In one *rapa* in Bishop Museum, the only ornaments are circular prominences representing ear plugs.

Objects Carried in Hand

In the Knoche collection (123, fig. 35) is an object labeled "Head for dance", which is supposed to have been an accessory held in both hands during a dance.

It is a human head resting on two diverging arms and carved from a single piece of wood. The head has the incised eyebrows typical of most Easter Island wooden images; the eyes are made of an inlaid ring of bone surrounding a piece of obsidian; the nose is straight; the traditional goatee is lacking. The arms are short and thin, terminating in a hand with extended fingers. On the skull is a carving which I cannot make out in the photograph. Despite the contrary statement of Knoche, this curious specimen is modern and crude. An identical object is in the Flechtheim collection (45, fig. 150). Though evidently modern this object must be a poor copy of an old prototype of which no ancient specimen has survived: the shape is too unique to be a modern development (the present natives do not create new types); the image strongly resembles a symbol on the tablets showing a head on top of an arched motif.

In Knoche's collection (123, fig. 34) is a poorly carved wooden hand which is interesting only to show that modern specimens may be survivals of ancient types. A wooden hand, similar in appearance but of far better workmanship, was collected by Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 583): 532

[Mahine] once met a figure of a woman's hand, carved of a yellowish wood, nearly of the natural size. Upon examination its fingers were all bent upwards as they are in the action of dancing at Taheitee, and its nails were represented very long, extending at least three fourths of an inch beyond the finger's end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumewood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils.

This hand, now in the British Museum, was carved of sandalwood which grew on Easter Island until the end of the last century. Carved hands are frequently figured on the tablets, showing that these hands were in use on the island for a long period. However, no tradition concerning them is available.

In the Forster collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, is a fish "... carved out of Casuarina wood and which was tied to a slate plate used as sinker" (139, fig. 3, p. 260). Over the eyes represented by rings in high relief is a ridge corresponding to human eyebrows. Another wooden fish, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, has the head decorated with circular incised lines.

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196 by the use of other substantives to indicate the nature of a particular tablet
212 (*kohau o te rongo, kohau o te pure*).

As already mentioned (p. 137), the chants associated with the tablets were
212 recited by learned men or bards called *tangata rongorongo*. Reading of the
533 tablets or chanting from them was taught in special huts, comparable to the
872 schools of learning (*whare wananga*) of the Maori. At Te Hare-titaha in Anakena I was shown stone curbs which were supposed to be remains of the most famous school for *rongorongo* men. There were similar houses in other districts. The atmosphere and the methods in these houses of learning were described by some informants on the authority of old men now dead. Unfortunately these traditions are colored by details of the missionary school system:

[346] The school houses were open sheds with thatched roofs. In the morning the children waited outside the house until they were told by the teacher to enter. To the teacher's salute of *maira* they answered *kokoea*. Each student knelt before a flat stone (*maea rongo*), which served as a writing desk. The assistant instructor (*te pahu*) counted the children to find out whether any were missing. The teacher started the lesson by reciting
[524] a prayer from a tablet. Then the children were taught to make string figures, each of which was associated with a chant that they must memorize. There were chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish.

[824] Banana leaves were used as copy books and on them the pupils practiced the engraving of signs with a sharp bone from the frigate bird (*makohe*). Te Haha said the copy books were sheaths from the banana trunk (194, p. 214).

According to Routledge, Te Haha was taught by King Nga-ara, but Charli Teao, the nephew of Te Haha, told me that his uncle had been trained by Taki, another uncle of Charli. Taki had been taught by Ngangiriva. Te Haha described King Nga-ara as "holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their *kohau* and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made
[875] personally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of *kohau* were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away" (194, p. 245).

527 Besides the annual gathering and chanting by *rongorongo* men at Orongo
533 during the feast of the bird-man, these learned bards met once a year at Ana-
545 kena to chant for the king. People came from all over the island to hear them "read" from the tablets. This public "reading" must be considered as a general contest between *rongorongo* men and a test of the ability of each.
[613 Visitors arrived with *huhu* (sticks with feathers) to which turmeric was tied,
293] as a courtesy to the king. The food to be consumed during the feast was supplied by the king, who was aided by people of neighboring districts. Te Haha described to Routledge (194, pp. 245-246) one such gathering, which he attended in his youth:

Both King Nga-ara and his son, Kaimako . . . sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The

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images but also small carved wooden figures. These wooden images, or some of them, are not only more recent, but they are in one sense still being made; that is to say, the tradition survives, and they are being manufactured to-day, though now only for sale to passing ships. Is there any relation between the stone images and the wooden ones? Two facts are clear, and strongly point to their being the work of the same people—they have the same length of the ear and the ring on the back; the short beard which characterizes them is also found in some three of the stone statues. On the other hand the profile differs considerably.

It has been suggested, not without strong probability, that these wooden figures are ancestral, and that their prominent ribs and sunken abdomen represent the starving condition in which the first colonists landed on Easter Island after their long voyage. The natives will not hear, however, of this solution. They are, they say, the figures of gods as they showed themselves to a certain king Tuukoihu. They were used as ornaments in certain dances, being hung over the chest and back. There is another type of the same figures, in which the ribs are not defined, which seems also to be old. The evidence regarding these might be clearer, but the natives in speaking of them give to them a large number of different names, and say they represent men, not gods. It appears probable that they were portraits, and this is borne out by the existence in the Pitt-Rivers museum of a small image with short ears of whose date and authenticity there seems to be no question, and which is said to be a portrait of Captain Cook. Another piece of evidence with regard to wooden statues exists which is even more suggestive in its bearings on stone ones. Among the most vivid memories of the old people are the feasts which used to be held in connection with certain large wooden figures called "Paina." Such a figure was made by a family who wished to honour its father, whether living or dead. It was large enough for a man to get inside, had long ears, and wore a crown of feathers. It was erected in front of an image platform, and was supported in its place by long ropes, while for three or four days feasting and dancing took place. In front of all the big image platforms can be seen holes up to four, five, or more in number in which the Paina have stood.

So far mention has been made of the problem of Easter Island as enshrined in its great images. It will be remembered, however, that there is also another mystery—its Hieroglyphic Writings. These first became known to the civilized world after the advent of the missionaries. The natives say that the missionaries told them to burn the incised tablets as works of the devil. The missionaries say that the people were burning them, and that they endeavoured to preserve them. Whichever is the truth the result is equally unfortunate, that the great majority of them have been destroyed. A few fragments scattered over the museums of Europe and America are all that remain. The late Bishop of Tahiti had a valuable collection of them, but when we reached that island (and it was one of

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Mataveri. Here there were a number of the large huts with stone foundations; in these they resided, with their wives and families. One of our old gentlemen friends first saw the light in a Mataveri dwelling, when his people were in residence, or, to use the proper phraseology, when his clan were "the Ao."[1] This name "ao" is also given to a large paddle, as much as 6 feet in length, used principally, if not exclusively, in connection with bird rites and dancing at Mataveri. In some specimens a face is fully depicted on the handle; in others the features have degenerated to a raised line merely indicating the eyebrows and nose. There are pictures of it on slabs in the Orongo houses, in which the face is adorned with vertical stripes of red and white after the native manner, as described by the early voyagers (figs. 105 and 118).

Naturally the months passed at Mataveri were occupied by the residents in feasting as well as in dancing, and equally naturally the victims were human. It was to grace one of these gatherings, when the Ureohei were the Ao, that the mother of Hotu, the Miru, was slain in a way which he considered outraged the decencies of life, and it was in revenge for another Mataveri victim that the last statues were thrown down. It is told that the destined provender for one meal evaded that fate by hiding in the extreme end of a hut, which was so long and dark that she was never found. Some of these repasts took place in a cave in the sea-cliff near at hand. Here the ocean has made great caverns in a wall of lava, into which the waves surge and break with booming noise and dashing spray. The recess which formed the banqueting-hall is just above high-water mark, and is known as "Ana Kai-tangata," or Eat-man Cave (fig. 102). The roof is adorned with pictures of birds in red and white; one of these birds is drawn over a sketch of a European ship, showing that they are not of very ancient date (fig. 103).

When July approached, the company, or some of them, wound their way up the western side of the hill, along the ever-narrowing summit to the village of Orongo; the path can just be traced in certain lights, and is known as the "Road of the Ao." They spent their time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the houses; food was brought up by the women, of whom Viriamo was one. [535]

[1] The men of the ascendant clan are also often spoken of as the Mata-tōa, or warriors, the other clans being the Mata-kio, or servants.

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attitude with the hands held up, and is carved at every size and angle according to the surface of the rock (fig. 110). It can still be counted one hundred and eleven times, and many specimens must have disappeared: all knowledge of its meaning is lost. The figure may have represented one of the egg gods, but it seems more probable that each one was a memorial to a bird-man; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that in at least three of the carvings the hand is holding an egg (fig. 112). The history of another figure, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalised by having one of these small figures ("Ko Mari") cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know, therefore, that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand palm upwards, resting it on a piece of tapa, and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the south coast, a procedure which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg. If, however, the winner belonged to the western clans, he generally went to Anakena for the next stage, very possibly because, as was explained, he was afraid to go to Hotu Iti; some victors also went to special houses in their own district, otherwise the company went along the southern shore till they reached Rano Raraku.

Amongst the statues standing on its exterior slope, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house (no. 7, fig. 60). This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and here the bird-man remained for a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg, which was still kept on tapa, was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash, and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho,"

[1] The figures of the bird-man, also of the ao and Ko Mari, are all roughly carved on the back of the Orongo statue (fig. 106). They appear, like those on the Raraku image, to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle. Permission to inspect can be obtained in the hall of the British Museum; unfortunately the light in the portico is bad.

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and if it was not worn the aku-aku would be angry. The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man who was called an ivi-atua, but was of an inferior type to the one gifted with prophecy, and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking-places, as even he might not share that of the bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The bird-man's wife came to Raraku, but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house, nor he hers, on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-man's house is the ahu alluded to on p. 191 (fig. 60); it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved. It was reserved for the burial of bird-men; they were the uncanny persons whose ghosts might do unpleasant things—they were safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain, with its houses, its ahu, and its statues. To this point the figures led which were round the base of the hill. If they were re-erected, they would stand with their backs not to the mountain, but to Orohié.[1] As the bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house, above him were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Ao, he could come to Orohié, but he might, if he wished, reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand, as that had taken the egg. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Ao had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid, they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month. On their

[1] Nos. 1, 2, and 3, fig. 60, form part of this series. See also fig. 74.